

Message Text

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FOR BLAKE AND MULCAHY FROM EASUM

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN

SUBJECT: KENTUCKY SPEECH

HEREWITH NEW VERSION OF DRAFT KENTUCKY SPEECH.

I. INTRODUCTION

I WANT TO COMMEND MY GOOD FRIEND, VINCE DAVIS, FOR ORGANIZING THIS SYMPOSIUM DEVOTED TO BLACK AMERICA AND AFRICA. AND I WANT TO THANK HIM FOR GIVING ME AN OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE PART.

AS YOU WELL KNOW, BLACK AMERICAN INTEREST IN AND CONCERN FOR AFRICA ARE NOT OF RECENT VINTAGE. THIS INTEREST AND CONCERN SPAN MANY YEARS. THEY CAN BE FOUND IN THE VARIOUS, OFTEN PHILOSOPHICAL, "BACK TO AFRICA" THEMES THAT DATE TO THE 18TH CENTURY.

THE LATE DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS WAS ONE OF THE FIRST BLACK AMERICAN SCHOLARS TO FOCUS ON AFRICA. HE GAVE EXPRESSION TO MANY OF HIS VIEWS WHILE SERVING AS EDITOR OF THE CRISIS, THE ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, POPULARLY CALLED THE NAACP. IN 1916, FOR EXAMPLE, DR. DUBOIS PROPOSED TO THE NAACP BOARD AN ENCYCLOPEDIA AFRICANA TO BE PUBLISHED IN 1919 TO MARK THE 299TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PERMANENT LANDING OF BLACK SLAVES AT JAMESTOWN, UNCLASSIFIED

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VIRGINIA. DR. DUBOIS SUGGESTED IN 1918 THAT THE ASSO-

CIATION TAKE STEPS AT THE VERSAILLES PEACE CONFERENCE
TO SECURE RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHTS OF AFRICANS.

THE NAACP WAS IN THE VANGUARD OF ORGANIZED EFFORTS
TO HELP THE AFRICAN PEOPLES. THE ORGANIZATION SUPPORTED
THE VARIOUS PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESSES ORGANIZED BY DR.
DUBOIS, BEGINNING IN PARIS IN 1919. A MANIFESTO ISSUED
AT THE SECOND CONGRESS IN LONDON TWO YEARS LATER CON-
TAINED THESE WORDS:

"THIS IS A WORLD OF MEN, OF MEN WHOSE LIKENESSES
FAR OUTWEIGH THEIR DIFFERENCES; WHO MUTUALLY NEED EACH
OTHER IN LABOR AND THOUGHT AND DREAM, BUT WHO CAN
SUCCESSFULLY HAVE EACH OTHER ONLY ON TERMS OF EQUALITY,
JUSTICE AND MUTUAL RESPECT."

THE DECADES SINCE WORLD WAR TWO HAVE BEEN IMPORTANT
YEARS FOR BOTH BLACK AMERICANS AND AFRICANS. FOR
BLACK AMERICANS, THIS PERIOD SAW ADVANCES IN MAKING A
REALITY FOR ALL AMERICANS THE STATEMENTS AND GOALS OF
OUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND OUR CONSTITUTION.
FOR AFRICANS, THIS WAS A PERIOD OF GREAT TRANSITION
AS COLONIALISM GAVE WAY TO INDEPENDENT NATIONHOOD IN
MOST OF THE VAST AFRICAN CONTINENT.

IN THE PERIOD OF THE SIXTIES WE WITNESSED A RE-
MARKABLE GROWTH AND STRENGTHENING OF PROGRAMS OF BLACK
STUDIES AND AFRICAN STUDIES ON AMERICAN CAMPUSES. THESE
PROGRAMS HAVE SERVED TO BROADEN BOTH THE BASE AND THE
SCOPE OF BLACK AMERICAN INTEREST IN AFRICA, AS WELL AS
SUBSTANTIALLY INFORM THE AMERICAN WHITE COMMUNITY RE-
GARDING THE BLACK EXPERIENCE IN BOTH THE OLD AND THE
NEW WORLDS.

THIS RISING AWARENESS IN OUR COUNTRY OF THE
BLACK EXPERIENCE HAS BROUGHT A GREATER KNOWLEDGE OF
AND INTEREST IN THE ISSUES OF RACIAL EQUALITY AND
DECOLONIZATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. IT IS PRECISELY
IN THIS PART OF AFRICA THAT THE TRILOGY OF
"EQUALITY, JUSTICE AND MUTUAL RESPECT" HAS BEEN LEAST
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OBSERVED. AT THEIR MEETING IN LUSAKA IN APRIL 1969
THE LEADERS OF THE INDEPENDENT EAST AND CENTRAL
AFRICAN STATES REAFFIRMED THESE PRINCIPLES IN RINGING
TERMS IN WHAT IS CALLED THE "LUSAKA MANIFESTO ON
SOUTHERN AFRICA". IN THIS MANIFESTO THEY DECLARED THAT
"THE PRINCIPLE OF HUMAN EQUALITY AND ALL THAT FLOWS
FROM IT, IS EITHER UNIVERSAL OR IT DOES NOT EXIST.
THE DIGNITY OF ALL

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MEN IS DESTROYED WHEN THE MANHOOD OF ANY HUMAN BEING IS DENIED". THESE LEADERS CONTINUE TO ASSERT THESE PRINCIPLES AS THE BASIS FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE WORLD. THESE SAME SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES HAVE RAISED QUESTIONS IN THE MINDS OF SOME BLACKS AND WHITES ABOUT THE REAL NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IN THIS PART OF AFRICA. LET ME ATTEMPT TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT.

II. THE TWO PREDOMINANT ISSUES.

I HAVE JUST RETURNED - ONLY TWO DAYS AGO - FROM A FIVE-WEEK TRIP TO THE TEN COUNTRIES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. I SPENT A WEEK IN SOUTH AFRICA, VISITING CAPETOWN, PRETORIA, JOHANNESBURG AND DURBAN. THE OTHER COUNTRIES WERE ZAIRE, ZAMBIA (WHERE PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAD INVITED ME TO ATTEND ZAMBIA'S TENTH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY CEREMONIES, AS A GUEST OF HIS GOVERNMENT), MALAWI, TANZANIA, BOTSWANA, LESOTHO, SWAZILAND, MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA.

I TALKED WITH PRESIDENTS AND PRIME MINISTERS, WITH TRADITIONAL CHIEFS AND VILLAGE MAYORS, WITH TRADE UNION LEADERS AND CHURCHMEN, WITH STUDENTS AND CIVIL SERVANTS, WITH BUSINESSMEN AND POLITICIANS. I CAN REPORT TO YOU

THAT, INDEED, THE TWO MAJOR ISSUES THAT DOMINATED THE
QUESTIONS - AND THE CONVICTIONS - THAT MY HOSTS PUT TO
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ME DURING THESE CONVERSATIONS WERE, FIRST OF ALL, THE
QUESTION OF HUMAN DIGNITY AND RACIAL EQUALITY - AND,
SECONDLY, DECOLONIZATION AND NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION.
AND THESE SAME ISSUES WERE THE PREDOMINANT DAILY THEMES
IN THE PRESS, THE RADIO AND - WHERE IT EXISTED - THE
TELEVISION OUTPUT IN THESE COUNTRIES DURING THE PERIOD
OF MY VISITS.

III. RACIAL EQUALITY

WHY WAS THE QUESTION OF HUMAN DIGNITY AND RACIAL
EQUALITY OF SUCH OVERRIDING CONCERN? LET ME ILLUSTRATE
WHY.

IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY, THE LIFE OF EVERY CITIZEN -
OF WHATEVER RACE OR COLOR - IS CONTROLLED BY A SYSTEM -
WHICH IS ALSO A PHILOSOPHY - CALLED "APARTHEID" OR
"SEPARATENESS". THIS "APARTHEID" IS INSTITUTIONALIZED
AND ENFORCED BY AN ELABORATE SET OF LAWS, REGULATIONS,
AND PRACTICES THAT IMPOSE A SEPARATE AND GROSSLY UN-
EQUAL STATUS ON THE MORE THAN 16 MILLION MEMBERS - OR
FIVE-SIXTHS - OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY THAT THE
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT CLASSIFIES AS NON-WHITE. ONLY
WITHIN WHAT ARE CALLED THEIR "BANTUSTANS" OR "HOMELANDS"
WILL SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS BE ABLE TO ENJOY SUCH BASIC
RIGHTS AS THE ABILITY TO VOTE OR OWN PROPERTY OR MOVE
FREELY FROM ONE PLACE TO ANOTHER. WHILE THESE HOMELAND
AREAS CONSIST OF ONLY 13 PERCENT OF THE NATIONAL TERRI-
TORY, IT IS MORE THAN 80 PERCENT OF THE NATION'S POPU-
LATION THAT IS TO BE ASSIGNED TO LIVE THERE - WITHOUT
ANY CONSULTATION OF THE POPULAR WILL.

THIS IS WHAT SO MANY OF THE PEOPLE I MET ON THIS
TRIP WANTED TO TALK ABOUT. THIS IS WHAT THEY WERE
TALKING ABOUT - THE INDIGNITIES AND INEQUALITIES OF A
SYSTEM THAT
--DENIES AFRICANS, COLOREDS AND ASIANS (THIS IS THE
WAY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT CLASSIFIES THE PEOPLE
WHO ARE NOT "WHITE") - THAT DENIES AFRICANS, COLOREDS
AND ASIANS A VOTE IN THE WHITE PARLIAMENT THAT MAKES
THE LAWS GOVERNING EVERY ASPECT OF THEIR LIVES,

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--THAT PERMITS NON-WHITES TO LIVE ONLY IN DESIGNATED AREAS, AND THAT EXCLUDES BLACKS FROM EVEN ENTERING WHITE URBAN AREAS UNLESS THEY ARE REQUIRED TO BE THERE TO SERVE WHITE EMPLOYERS; AND

--THAT EXCLUDES BLACKS FROM SKILLED JOBS, AND AT THE SAME TIME PROVIDES THEM NO RIGHT TO JOIN REGISTERED TRADE UNIONS OR TO BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT JUSTIFIES SUCH PRACTICES AS NECESSARY TO PROTECT AND ADVANCE ITS POLICY OF "SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT". SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT, IN THE WORDS OF DR. CONNIE MULDER, THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION, FORESEES THE CREATION OF "A BLOC OF POLITICALLY INDEPENDENT STATES, ECONOMICALLY INTERDEPENDENT". THESE

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BANTUSTANS, OF WHICH THERE ARE EIGHT, HAVE INDEED BEEN OFFERED INDEPENDENCE IN DUE TIME, AND ONE SUCH "HOMELAND", THE TRANSKEI, IS SAID TO BE SCHEDULED TO BECOME AT LEAST NOMINALLY INDEPENDENT SOMETIME NEXT YEAR. THIS VAST PROGRAM REQUIRES MOVING MASSES OF PEOPLE, BOTH BLACK AND WHITE BUT PRIMARILY BLACK, FROM THE PLACES THEY NOW INHABIT TO NEW LOCATIONS. IF YOU ARE BLACK, YOU ARE ASSIGNED TO THE HOMELAND DESIGNATED FOR THE PARTICULAR RACE TO WHICH YOU BELONG - OR "TRIBE", TO

USE THE TERM ONE ENCOUNTERS IN SOUTH AFRICA. EVEN IF YOU ARE A BLACK INDUSTRIAL WORKER AND LIVE IN ONE OF THE BLACK CLUSTERS OF POPULATION ON THE EDGE OF A MAJOR WHITE CITY, YOU HAVE VIRTUALLY NO RIGHTS EXCEPT IN THE RURAL HOMELAND FOR YOUR "TRIBE" - AND THAT MAY BE HUNDREDS OF MILES AWAY. EVEN IF YOU LIVED IN THE HOMELAND AREA ITSELF, YOU WOULD FIND THAT IT WAS NOT A SOLID GEOGRAPHIC UNIT BUT RATHER A HODGE-PODGE OF OFTEN UNCONNECTED SEGMENTS GERRYMANDERED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO AVOID AREAS OF IMPORTANT WHITE SETTLEMENT OR ECONOMIC ENTERPRISE.

THE THEORY BEHIND THE ELABORATE STRUCTURE OF RULES AND REGULATIONS DESIGNED TO KEEP THE RACES APART IN SOUTH AFRICA IS THAT THE SEPARATION IS NECESSARY IN ORDER TO AVOID ETHNIC FRICTION, IN ORDER TO PRESERVE HARMONY AND STABILITY IN A SOCIETY WHERE THESE CONDITIONS ARE BELIEVED TO BE ESSENTIAL TO PROTECT TRADITIONAL CULTURES - INCLUDING WHITE - AND TO MAINTAIN THE ECONOMIC GROWTH THAT IS BRINGING INCREASING PROSPERITY TO BOTH WHITE AND NON-WHITE POPULATIONS. INSTITUTIONALIZED DISCRIMINATION IS ADMITTED, BUT IT IS ARGUED THAT THIS IS REALLY "DIFFERENTIATION", NOT DISCRIMINATION, AND THAT IT IS BASED NOT ON RACE OR COLOR, BUT RATHER ON DIFFERENCES IN TRADITIONS AND SOCIAL VALUES.

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TIONAL CULTURES - INCLUDING WHITE - AND TO MAINTAIN THE ECONOMIC GROWTH THAT IS BRINGING INCREASING PROSPERITY TO BOTH WHITE AND NON-WHITE POPULATIONS. INSTITUTIONALIZED DISCRIMINATION IS ADMITTED, BUT IT IS ARGUED THAT THIS IS REALLY "DIFFERENTIATION", NOT DISCRIMINATION, AND THAT IT IS BASED NOT ON RACE OR COLOR, BUT RATHER ON DIFFERENCES IN TRADITIONS AND SOCIAL VALUES.

IV. DECOLONIZATION

THE SECOND MAJOR PREOCCUPATION OF BLACK LEADERS IN THE COUNTRIES I VISITED WAS DECOLONIZATION AND NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION. THIS IS NO NEW CONCERN. EVER SINCE THE FULL TIDE OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE 1960'S BROUGHT MANY OF THESE COUNTRIES TO FULL INDEPENDENCE, THEY HAVE WORKED TO BRING ABOUT THE DECOLONIZATION OF THOSE PARTS OF AFRICA WHERE SELF-DETERMINATION WAS STILL DENIED.

WITH REGARD TO THE CHOICE BETWEEN FORCE OR PEACEFUL MEANS FOR ACHIEVING DECOLONIZATION, THE LUSAKA MANIFESTO WAS ONCE AGAIN INSTRUCTIVE. IT SPOKE AS FOLLOWS:

"WE HAVE ALWAYS PREFERRED AND WE STILL PREFER TO ACHIEVE (LIBERATION) WITHOUT PHYSICAL VIOLENCE. WE WOULD PREFER TO NEGOTIATE RATHER THAN DESTROY, TO TALK RATHER THAN KILL. . . IF PEACEFUL PROGRESS TO EMANCIPATION WERE POSSIBLE, OR IF CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES WERE TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE IN THE FUTURE, WE WOULD URGE OUR BROTHERS IN THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS TO USE PEACEFUL METHODS OF STRUGGLE EVEN AT THE COST OF SOME COMPROMISE

ON THE TIMING OF CHANGE. BUT WHILE PEACEFUL PROGRESS IS BLOCKED BY ACTIONS OF THOSE AT PRESENT IN POWER IN THE STATES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, WE HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO GIVE TO THE PEOPLES OF THOSE TERRITORIES ALL THE SUPPORT OF WHICH WE ARE CAPABLE IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST THEIR OPPRESSORS."

THUS IT WAS THAT THE INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES OF BLACK AFRICA, AND THEIR ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, ENCOURAGED AND GAVE SUPPORT TO A VARIETY OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS - SOMETIMES CALLED TERRORISTS, SOMETIMES UNCLASSIFIED

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CALLED FREEDOM FIGHTERS, DEPENDING ON ONE'S POINT OF VIEW - IN AN EFFORT TO BRING FREEDOM FROM CONTINUED COLONIAL RULE.

V. PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

BUT AFRICAN LEADERS REMAINED OPEN TO THE POSSIBILITY OF DIALOGUE AND PEACEFUL PERSUASION SHOULD CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT. AND, INDEED, FOLLOWING THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN LISBON IN APRIL OF THIS YEAR, CIRCUMSTANCES DID SO PERMIT IN THREE OF THE TERRITORIES TO WHICH THE LUSAKA MANIFESTO ADDRESSED ITSELF - THAT IS, PORTUGUESE GUINEA, MOZAMBIQUE, AND ANGOLA. WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF SUCH COUNTRIES AS SENEGAL, ALGERIA, TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA - TO NAME ONLY THE PRINCIPAL ONES - TALKING REPLACED FIGHTING.

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AS A RESULT OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE NEW PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT AND THE LEADERS OF THE PAICG LIBERATION MOVEMENT, PORTUGAL RECOGNIZED THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE NEW REPUBLIC OF GUINEA BISSAU IN SEPTEMBER. IN MOZAMBIQUE, WHERE I HAD CONVERSATIONS WITH THE PORTUGUESE HIGH COMMISSIONER, ADMIRAL CRESPO, AND WITH THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT, DANIEL CHISSANO OF THE FRELIMO INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT, INDEPENDENCE IS SCHEDULED FOR JUNE OF NEXT YEAR. IN ANGOLA, THE PORTUGUESE HAVE OFFERED INDEPENDENCE TO THE TERRITORY AND HAVE INVITED THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS TO JOIN IN NEGOTIATIONS TO BRING IT ABOUT.

VI. RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA

THESE DEVELOPMENTS HAVE BEEN GREETED WITH GREAT ENTHUSIASM AND GRATIFICATION THROUGHOUT BLACK AFRICA. THIS HAS BEEN A GIANT LEAP FORWARD TOWARD COMPLETE DECOLONIZATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. BUT THOSE WITH WHOM I SPOKE INSISTED THAT THE EFFORT COULD NOT BE SLACKENED NOW. THERE STILL REMAIN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA (OR SOUTH WEST AFRICA). LET'S LOOK AT THOSE TWO CASES FOR A MOMENT.

YOU WILL RECALL THAT THE MINORITY WHITE GOVERNMENT OF IAN SMITH UNILATERALLY DECLARED RHODESIA INDEPENDENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1966. THE UNITED KINGDOM HAS UNCLASSIFIED

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NEVER ACCEPTED THIS ACTION, AND THE UNITED NATIONS HAS IMPOSED ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST THE ILLEGAL REGIME. THE SMITH REGIME HAS REFUSED TO ENTER INTO MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE BLACK MAJORITY, WITHOUT WHICH NO SOLUTION APPEARS POSSIBLE.

AS FOR NAMIBIA, THE UNITED NATIONS IN 1966 TERMINATED SOUTH AFRICA'S MANDATE FROM THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS TO ADMINISTER THIS TERRITORY. THE WORLD COURT IN 1971 AFFIRMED THE VALIDITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS DECISION. BUT SOUTH AFRICA HAS REFUSED TO GIVE UP ITS ILLEGAL CONTROL OF THE AREA.

BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS WITH WHOM I MET, WITHOUT

EXCEPTION, STRESSED THEIR CONVICTION THAT SELF-DETERMINATION IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA IS NOW MORE THAN EVER A PILLAR OF THEIR COUNTRIES' POLICIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THEY SEE SOUTH AFRICA AS HOLDING THE KEY TO SOLUTIONS OF BOTH PROBLEMS, AND THEY BELIEVE THE UNITED STATES SHOULD APPLY ITS BEST EFFORTS TO PERSUADING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO TAKE THE FOLLOWING ACTIONS.

THEY WANT SOUTH AFRICA TO WITHDRAW FROM NAMIBIA AND PERMIT THE AREA TO DECIDE ITS OWN FUTURE. THEY WANT SOUTH AFRICA TO WITHDRAW ITS POLICE FORCES FROM RHODESIA, TO CEASE ALL SUPPORT OF THE SMITH REGIME, TO APPLY ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST IT. FINALLY, THEY WANT THE U.S. TO PRESS SOUTH AFRICA TO ABANDON ITS RACIAL POLICIES AND TAKE PROMPT STEPS TO ASSURE FULL HUMAN DIGNITY FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICANS, OF WHATEVER RACE OR COLOR.

VII. U.S. POLICIES

WHAT ARE U.S. POLICIES ON THESE ISSUES? WHAT IS THE STANCE OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IN THE FACE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S PERSISTENT REFUSAL TO ABIDE BY UNITED NATIONS DECISIONS ON NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA, AND ITS CONTINUING FAILURE TO TAKE SIGNIFICANT STEPS TO ASSURE BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS FOR THE MAJORITY OF ITS PEOPLE?

WITH REGARD TO NAMIBIA, THE UNITED STATES ACCEPTS
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THE WORLD COURT ADVISORY OPINION OF 1971 WHICH AFFIRMED THE UNITED NATION'S JUDGMENT OF 1966 DECLARING TERMINATED THE SOUTH AFRICAN MANDATE FROM THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FOR SOUTHWEST AFRICA. THE UNITED STATES DISCOURAGES UNITED STATES INVESTMENT IN NAMIBIA, HAS CUT OFF UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT COMMERCIAL FACILITIES FOR TRADE WITH NAMIBIA, AND HAS MADE CLEAR THAT IT WILL NOT INTERVENE ON BEHALF OF THE INTERESTS OF ANY AMERICAN INVESTOR WHO ENGAGED HIMSELF IN NAMIBIA AFTER 1966. FURTHERMORE, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT CAREFULLY AVOIDS ANY OFFICIAL ACTIONS THAT WOULD FORTIFY OR ENDORSE SOUTH AFRICA'S CONTINUED ILLEGAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY.

WE NOW CALL ON SOUTH AFRICA TO ABIDE BY THE UNITED NATION'S DECISIONS CONCERNING THAT TERRITORY.

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THIS MEANS THAT SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD STATE ITS WILLING-
NESS TO WITHDRAW FROM NAMIBIA AND SHOULD INFORM THE
WORLD OF ITS EXACT INTENTIONS IN THIS REGARD. WE
WOULD WISH THIS WITHDRAWAL TO BE ACCOMPLISHED IN SUCH
A WAY AS TO BEST ENHANCE THE PROSPECTS FOR PROMPT AND
PEACEFUL SELF-DETERMINATION BY THE PEOPLE WHO INHABIT
THE REGION.

WITH REGARD TO SOUTHERN RHODESIA, THE UNITED
STATES CONTINUES TO LOOK TO THE UNITED KINGDOM AS
RESPONSIBLE FOR ACHIEVING A CONSTITUTIONAL SOLUTION
TO IAN SMITH'S UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.
WE BELIEVE THAT THE SMITH REGIME SHOULD PROMPTLY ENGAGE
IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE BLACK MAJORITY. THE U.S.
GOVERNMENT WOULD WELCOME A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION THAT
WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE BOTH TO THE UNITED KINGDOM AND TO
THE BLACK MAJORITY OF THE RHODESIAN POPULATION. WE
ARE CONVINCED THAT A SOLUTION TO THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM
CAN AND MUST BE FOUND THROUGH PEACEFUL RATHER THAN
VIOLENT MEANS. WE BELIEVE THE LUSAKA MANIFESTO STILL
SPEAKS TO THIS POINT.

AS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY CONCERNING RHODESIA,
WE CALL ON SOUTH AFRICA TO CONFORM WITH UNITED NATIONS
RESOLUTIONS, WITHDRAWING ITS POLICE FORCES THAT ARE
ILLEGALLY IN THAT TERRITORY AND APPLYING ECONOMIC
SANCTIONS AGAINST THE SMITH REGIME.

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I AM CONFIDENT I NEED NOT REMIND THIS AUDIENCE OF YOUR GOVERNMENT'S POSITION CONCERNING SOUTH AFRICA'S RACIAL POLICIES. WE CONDEMN SOUTH AFRICA'S ENTIRE APPROACH TO THE QUESTION OF RACE AND COLOR. APARTHEID IS REPUGNANT TO US. AS AMBASSADOR SCALLI STATED BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL OCTOBER 30TH, "THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OPPOSES IT CATEGORICALLY AND ABSOLUTELY. IT IS EVIL. IT IS UGLY".

SOUTH AFRICA'S RACIAL POLICIES CONTINUE TO INHIBIT OUR OFFICIAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH THAT GOVERNMENT. WE MAINTAIN AN EMBARGO ON THE SALE OR SHIPMENT OF ARMS OR MILITARY EQUIPMENT OF ANY SORT TO SOUTH AFRICA. THIS IS DESPITE CONTRARY MILITARY SUPPLY POLICIES OF CERTAIN OTHER GOVERNMENTS AND CONTINUING PRESSURE, FOR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS AND OTHER REASONS, FOR RESUMPTION OF U.S. SALES. WE CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN THE BAN INSTITUTED EIGHT YEARS AGO ON U.S. NAVAL VISITS TO SOUTH AFRICA. EVEN IF THE PROBLEM OF EXPOSING U.S. PERSONNEL TO DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT IN SOUTH AFRICAN PORTS COULD BE RESOLVED, SUCH VISITS WOULD PRESENT OTHER SERIOUS PROBLEMS. AMONG SUCH PROBLEMS WOULD BE THE REACTION OF OTHER AFRICAN NATIONS AT WHOSE PORTS OUR NAVY CALLS. WE HAVE NO PRESENT INTENTION TO EMBARK ON ANY KIND OF MILITARY OR NAVAL COLLABORATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

WE HAVE NOTED WITH GREAT INTEREST THE RECENT STATEMENT BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL BY SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR BOTHA, TO THE EFFECT THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD MOVE AWAY FROM DISCRIMINATION BASED ON BOTH RACE AND COLOR. WE WELCOME RECENT STATEMENTS BY PRIME MINISTER VORSTER CONCERNING SOUTH AFRICA'S DESIRE TO WORK FOR PEACE AND STABILITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. WE BELIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE CAN BE BEST SERVED BY PROMPT AND EFFECTIVE MOVES BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO DISMANTLE A SYSTEM OF ENFORCED RACIAL SEPARATION AND DISCRIMINATION THAT DEPRIVES FOUR OUT OF EVERY FIVE SOUTH AFRICANS OF EQUAL ACCESS TO THE OPPORTUNITIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE SOCIETY IN WHICH THEY LIVE AND WORK. THUS WE ASK THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO

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DEMONSTRATE ACTIONS THAT WILL BE MEANINGFUL TO BLACKS, COLOREDS AND ASIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND MEANINGFUL ELSEWHERE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA - ACTIONS THAT WILL IMPLEMENT THE PRIME MINISTER'S PLEDGES - ACTIONS THAT WILL

ILLUSTRATE WHAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR SAID AT THE UNITED NATIONS THE OTHER DAY WHEN HE STATED: "LET ME PUT IT VERY CLEARLY: THE WHITES OF SOUTH AFRICA, AS WELL AS THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA, ARE AS MUCH CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, HUMAN FREEDOMS, HUMAN DIGNITIES AND JUSTICE, AS ANY OTHER NATION OR GOVERNMENT OF THE WORLD".

THE TALK OF CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA WAS BEING HEARD ON ALL SIDES DURING MY RECENT VISIT THERE. THERE WERE MANY INDICATIONS THAT A REEXAMINATION OF THE BASIC ISSUES AFFECTING SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE WAS INDEED UNDER-

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WAY. THERE WAS AN AIR OF EXPECTANCY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS, AND LEADERS IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES WERE WATCHING CAREFULLY FOR ACTIONS THAT WOULD MATCH WORDS. JUST A WEEK AGO, FOR EXAMPLE, THE PRESIDENT OF BOTSWANA, SIR SERETSE KHAMA - I REMIND YOU THAT BOTSWANA IS A COUNTRY WHOSE SOUTHERN BORDER JOINS SOUTH AFRICA ACROSS A DISTANCE OF MORE THAN 1,000 MILES - SIR SERETSE MADE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT BEFORE THE OPENING OF HIS PARLIAMENT:

"WE HAVE ALWAYS MADE CLEAR THAT BEFORE THERE CAN BE ANY PROSPECT OF A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF THIS REGION OF AFRICA, THE GOVERNMENTS OF

THE WHITE-RULED STATES OF THE REGION SHOULD FIRST DEMONSTRATE POSITIVELY A WILLINGNESS TO CHANGE THEIR RACIAL POLICIES. WITHOUT SUCH A COMMITMENT TO CHANGE, VIOLENCE WILL REMAIN THE ONLY WAY TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE IN WHITE-RULED SOUTHERN AFRICA. THIS IS THE MESSAGE WHICH WE PUT OUT TO THE WORLD IN THE LUSAKA MANIFESTO.

NOW, AT LAST, THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS NOT ONLY READY TO BRING ABOUT THE DESIRED CHANGES IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF, BUT IS PREPARED TO USE ITS INFLUENCE TO BRING ABOUT SIMILAR CHANGES IN RHODESIA. THIS, INDEED, AS PRESIDENT KAUNDA RECENTLY OBSERVED, IS THE VOICE OF REASON FOR WHICH WE HAVE LONG BEEN WAITING. GIVEN THIS ATTITUDE

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ON THE PART OF MR. VORSTER'S GOVERNMENT, THERE IS EVERY HOPE THAT THE PROBLEMS OF RHODESIA, NAMIBIA, AND SOUTH AFRICA WILL BE RESOLVED WITHOUT FURTHER BLOODSHED. THIS, IN TURN, WILL OPEN UP UNLIMITED PROSPECTS OF STABILITY, CO-OPERATION, AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. FOR THESE REASONS, I WELCOME THE RECENT INDICATIONS OF POSSIBLE CHANGE IN THIS PART OF AFRICA."

THE UNITED STATES ALSO WELCOMES THESE INDICATIONS.

SOUTHERN AFRICA IS A LAND OF VAST RESOURCES, RICH AND DIVERSE, HUMAN AND PHYSICAL. THEIR ALCHEMY COULD BE UNIQUELY CONTRIBUTIVE TO THE GROWTH AND PROSPERITY OF ALL OF AFRICA - AND BEYOND - PROVIDED THE NAACP'S WARNING OF FIFTY-THREE YEARS AGO IS HEEDDED. LET ME REMIND US ALL OF JUST WHAT THAT WARNING WAS.

"THIS IS A WORLD OF MEN, OF MEN WHOSE LIKENESSES FAR OUTWEIGH THEIR DIFFERENCES; WHO MUTUALLY NEED EACH OTHER IN LABOR AND THOUGHT AND DREAM, BUT WHO CAN SUCCESSFULLY HAVE EACH OTHER ONLY ON TERMS OF EQUALITY, JUSTICE AND MUTUAL RESPECT."

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